

[P. 108 a] Wikchumni

765 set the date for it. This reciprocal group was called gu'ui just as is the reciprocal tribe in the public Annual Mourning Ceremony.

[152] On the day set the relatives-in-law, headed by one of their group, brought meat and clothing. With them came two or three singers (ahe'n:č). The singers performed morning and evening, and the chief mourner, his relatives, and any others of his tribe who wished all wept in accompaniment. This performance was called paho't:t and continued all night. Sometime during the night money was collected from the mourners by a winatum and the next day was taken to the reciprocants.

The next morning the washers' winatum got large baskets of water, and the visitors washed the faces of the chief mourners, combed their hair, and dressed them in new clothes. These chief mourners would be the immediately bereaved and close relatives, e.g., a man and his children mourning a dead wife, or parents and siblings mourning a dead child, etc. Thereafter the faces of less closely related mourners - cousins, aunts, grandparents, etc. -- were washed.

Then a general feast was held, games were played, and one or two shamans might dance during the evening. The shamans were given money frequently in order to keep them dancing. Sometimes a woman or two would dance with them.

[587] Thereafter the initial phase of mourning was over. A widower was free to remarry, though many men did not do so at once. A widow was expected to remain single for at least a year. Any deeply bereaved person continued to maintain a depressed demeanor and refrained from meat until the annual mourning celebration was held. During the mourning period a woman busied herself making baskets which she gave to the relatives-in-law who washed her. She continued this industry in preparation for the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

Age Categories

- 561 From M.L.. Her distinctions are not very satisfactory from the point of view of European culture. My impression is that for Yokuts the span of life is, roughly, in four parts: birth to adolescence, adolescence to mature manhood (say 20 years), manhood, and old age.

wi'tep, wi'tipeč: baby, baby boy; any child under 3 years; literally, little one
 gu'tum witep: baby boy
 mo'k:s witep: baby girl
 hi'am paha'ta witep gutum: now little male, i.e., boy [here referred specifically to Mason García, aged 5]
 witep mu'k:s: little female, i.e., girl
 hiam pahata gutum: now male; i.e., man [here referred specifically to Felix García, aged 10]

[P. 108 b] Wukchum;

- 561 hiam pahata muk:s: growing girl, 8 to 10 years
 hiam pahata wu'h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years
 goi yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years
 witap mi'tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years
 hiam pahata mitač muk:s: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years
 pahata gu'tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)
 moho do gu'tum: old man, 50 or over
 modo'o mu'k:s: old woman, past child-bearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

- 756 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and
 787 Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

A doctor begins to practise a dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičaca died because he made a mistake in practising.²⁴⁸ If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.²⁴⁹ He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

- 787 When a boy was about the age of ten or a
 776 little older, his dreams became significant as
 778 a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

²⁴⁸J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

²⁴⁹Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

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I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took [around the village], and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the rancharia I counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the rancharia were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

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When I walked behind the Rancharia of Chischas I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while younger ones were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom Its [Chischas] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancharia.

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The visitors brought with them their own mats and blankets, shiny sticks, and gambling equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shiny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

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Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

EP. 156 a] Durwa

805 Calendar.--Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

192 Nature, stars, directions.--B.W. was interested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.⁴⁰

801 He gave the following terms: soko'wa (wind); me'mi'ač (thunder, ta'lak, Gashowu); wa'lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi'l (heat of the sun); hai'l (day). Hača'mi'op (new moon, lit. young); pime'mat (full moon); toyonu'mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se'yai (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye'le'a'yela (big rain from the west). Wa'la (sky or firmament); če'a'tas (stars); tawa'nis (morning star); čomo'loalo'hi (evening star); yeše'yēš (Pleiades); kačpe'la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata'nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho'iki (the ground or earth); šil'el (rocks, embedded rocks); i'lek (water).

192 Directions were particularized as follows:
803 ho'šim (north); homo'ti (south); ta'nin homoti (to go south); to'x:l (west; toward the plains); tox:l tu'nulao (westward downhill); notu' (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); tox:l pa'a'au (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a't:l (directly down, also downhill); tanin at:l (to go down); at:l tunulao (down hillwards); ti'p:n (up, directly above). Wakai'yao (downstream); tip:n wakai'yao (upstream); hami'ni (near side of any stream); hada'miu (far side of any stream). Ho'ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihim'at (to run); witi'n'at (to fall down); hasw'n'at (to fall down dead or to be dead).

192 Life span.--The life span B.W. divided as follows: pai (baby); hača'mi (pre-pubertal boy or girl); muke'la (mature woman); no'no (mature man); moha'lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi'i'l'it (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); hasw'n'at (dead person).

764 Burial.--When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.⁴¹

⁴⁰Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

⁴¹Dumell, 122.

The Transvestite

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[767] The male transvestite (tono ŋim, Michahai; tai yap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

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[767] The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

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[773] The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonoŋim figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

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[767] While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave tai yap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

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192 na'na hua ŋiŋi: newborn boy
hu'pi hua ŋiŋi: newborn girl
na naŋi: boy about two years old
si'i saŋi: girl about two years old
hua wuha na naŋi (or si'isaŋi): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
na nop na naŋi: boy five to ten years old
hu'u pi mo nanop: girl five to ten years old
moa bi na nop: youth twelve to twenty years old

moa 'bi hu'u'pi na 'nop: girl twelve to
twenty years old
moa 'bi ti 'kinana: young man twenty to
forty years old
hu'u'pi tu 'amoge: young woman having
borne children
moa 'bi na 'nany:p: man forty to sixty
years old
moa 'bi nana 'pi'ep: woman forty to sixty
years old
moa 'bi moa 'bh'l:p: old man
moa 'bi hube 'či'ep: old woman

Death

When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night. Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deer skin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (lu 'koluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a 'či) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

Cremation---The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu 'lău mai (burn person, cremation); luku 'lău mai (bury person, interment); mai tao 'i 'či (person dead); pučo 'n tao 'i 'či (man dead); muči 'hoi tao 'i 'či (woman dead).

Burial---According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo 'noluč (tawa 'tsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.